

97-98

American Research Center in Egypt , Inc.

NEWSLETTER



NUMBERS NINETY-SEVEN/NINETY-EIGHT

97/98

SUMMER/FALL 1976

ORC Building
North Harrison Street
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
United States of America

2, Midan Qasr el Dubbarah
Garden City, Cairo
Arab Republic of Egypt

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Linda M. Pappas
Editor-in-chief

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JOHN A. WILSON
1899 - 1976

One of the founding members of the American Research Center in Egypt in 1948, Dr. John A. Wilson served as President from 1972-1975, bringing to that post not only the prestige of one of the most outstanding American Egyptologists of all time but also the energy and enthusiasm of a man twenty years his junior. He resigned at the age of 75, determined to leave the position before he "started to slow down."

During his incumbency, John and his wife, Mary, frequently visited Egypt for extended periods of consultation, collaboration, and representation. The Wilsons' affection for the Near East began in 1920, when John, fresh from college, began a three year teaching contract at the American University of Beirut. There he met and married Mary W. Rouse, a teacher at the American Hospital School of Nursing.

Always happy to be in Egypt, John, who frequently referred to himself as a *sa'idi*, felt most at home in the relaxed atmosphere of Luxor, where he had spent six years at Chicago House, surrounded by the world's most historic monuments. To accompany the Wilsons through the temples and tombs of Luxor was an unforgettable experience. As a *ghaffir* would recognize John, word would spread that the *mudir* had returned. Soon the Wilsons were surrounded by *fellahin* who had worked with the Wilsons years before or who had gathered to see for themselves the *mudir* whose reputation had preceded him. John's quiet enthusiasm for and fascination with the monuments of ancient Egypt were apparent as he paused to admire again the symmetry of a colossal structure, to translate a hieroglyphic inscription as easily as if it were written in English or to point out an unusual architectural feature. As he explained the alterations made by the master sculptor to the initial incisions depicting the sea battle on the north wall of Medinet Habu or traced with his finger the almost totally obliterated inscriptions on the tomb of Kheruef, not only did the scenes spring to life but one was given a brief insight into the meticulous work on those and other monuments to which John and his colleagues on the Epigraphic Mission had devoted so many years. Back at Chicago House in time for the traditional tea, one became aware of the physical exertion which a tour with the Wilsons entailed.

Six years before John was elected President of the ARCE, he had already been acknowledged "a legend in his own time." Having received a B.A. from Princeton, M.A. from the American University of Beirut, and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, John had pursued a brilliant career teaching Egyptology

at the Oriental Institute of Chicago, from 1926 until his retirement in 1965, which included six seasons at Chicago House in Luxor. Honors included being named Andrew MacLeish Distinguished Service Professor from 1952 to 1965, a Litt.D. degree from Princeton in 1961, the creation of a John A. Wilson Professorship in Oriental Studies at the University of Chicago in 1968, the title of Professor Emeritus, and membership in *Institut d'Egypte*, the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the American Philosophical Society. In 1965, John was appointed the American delegate on the Consultative Committee for the Salvage of Nubian Monuments, a project to which he contributed honoraria he had received from lecturing throughout the U.S. Meanwhile, John's *The Burden of Egypt* and *Signs and Wonders Upon Pharaoh* had brought him success as an author, and his autobiographical *Thousands of Years* was about to appear.

Cairo, despite the noisy contrast to Luxor, provided John the opportunity to work in the Egyptian Museum and to renew contacts with such old Egyptian friends and colleagues as the Abu Bakrs, the Fakhrys, and the Habachis as well as with transient colleagues of other nationalities. There were invitations, always graciously accepted, to lecture at the ARCE, the Coptic Institute, the *Institut d'Egypte*, and the American University. Each morning John would visit the Center to consult on the ARCE program, and he spent many hours advising and directing the local staff at the office of the Akhenaton Temple Project. Courtesy calls on appropriate Egyptian Government officials assumed special importance during the negotiation of a new protocol for the ARCE, and on one occasion the Foreign Minister hosted a dinner party in honor of the Wilsons, particularly notable because it took place during that period when no diplomatic relations existed between the U.S. and the Egyptian Governments. As a climax to the five-day International Conference on Egyptology held in Cairo in 1975, John made a brilliant, scholarly two-hour summation of the various papers which had been previously presented in open session.

The ARCE benefited richly from the tireless support, friendly guidance, and wise counsel of John Wilson, whose contagious passion for a fuller understanding and appreciation of Egypt's early history have made a deep and lasting impression on all who had the privilege of knowing him.

John Dorman
Former Cairo Center Director

RESEARCH NEWS

Smithsonian Special Foreign Currency Program

We are happy to report that the prospect of continued funding from the Smithsonian Institution for research in archeological and ancient Egyptological studies looks bright during this next year as a result of a Congressional Bill passed this summer. The Senate Committee on Appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies recommended an appropriation of \$3,481,000 to the Smithsonian Institution for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1977. This recommendation provides \$2,481,000 for research and \$1,000,000 for the continuation of international efforts to save the monuments of Philae, Egypt.

The successful passage of this Bill was due, in large part, to the concerted efforts of the members and friends of the ARCE. We are grateful for their continued support.

Request for Publications

We should like to remind all recipients of Smithsonian Foreign Currency awards that copies of all grant-related publications should be forwarded to both the Smithsonian Institution and to the ARCE.

Recent Publications

Bo Gyllensvard, "Recent Finds of Chinese Ceramics at Fostat.II," The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Bulletin No. 47, Stockholm, 1975

The material used in this study was supplied by the Director of the Fostat Expedition, American Research Center in Egypt, and the research subsidized by funds supplied to the Expedition by the Foreign Currency Program of the Smithsonian Institution.

Department of State, Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs

During the 1976/77 academic year, the ARCE is sponsoring twelve foreign scholars in Egypt in the fields of the humanities and social sciences. Fellowship funding for these individuals, whose names will appear in the forthcoming issue of the JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT, has been provided by the Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs (U.S. Department of State).

The submission deadline for 1977/78 application is December 31, 1976. All proposals will be reviewed by our Grants Committee on February 4, 1977, at the Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies, New York University. Applicants will be informed of the Committee's recommendations shortly thereafter.

ARCE ANNUAL MEETING

As announced in our Spring NEWSLETTER, the ARCE will hold its 27th Annual Meeting on April 29, 30, and May 1, at The Detroit Institute of Arts. The Meeting will be entitled, "A Conference on Egyptian History and Civilization." All members and friends of the association are invited to attend. Arrangements will be supervised by Mr. William Peck, Curator of Ancient Art at the Institute.

A form has been inserted in this NEWSLETTER for those who wish to present a paper at the Annual Meeting. If you plan to participate in the panels, kindly inform the Program Committee before February 15, 1977.

ARCE IN EGYPT

Lecture Series at Center

The American Research Center in Egypt is offering a series of five illustrated lectures on the subject of "Women in Ancient Egypt." These lectures will be held on Saturday evenings at 6:00 p.m. in the Center's reception room, at 2, Midan Qasr el-Dubbarah in Garden City. The speaker will be Cynthia Sheikholeslami, visiting American Egyptologist from the University of Chicago.

The following are the topics to be covered:

- November 13, 1976 - Life cycle of women (1): Pregnancy and childbirth
- November 20, 1976 - Life cycle of women (2): Sickness (diseases of women and treatments); death, burial, funerary ceremonies
- November 27, 1976 - Women in society (1): Childhood, dress and adornment, love, marriage, harems, prostitution
- December 4, 1976 - Women in society (2): Daily activities, games and amusements, music and dancing; legal position of women, inheritance and ownership of property; houses and furniture
- December 11, 1976 - Women in history and myth: Hatshepsut, Nefertiti, Cleopatra, Isis, Hathor, Maat, and other female deities; role of women in the cult

ARCE/CHICAGO HOUSE/AUC RECEPTION
on the occasion of the
International Congress of Egyptology
October 2-10, Cairo



From left to right: Mrs. Paul Walker, Mrs. Ahmed Fakhry, Mr. Ahmad Kadry, Dr. Gamal Mokhtar, Mrs. Cecil Byrd, Mrs. Labib Habachi



From left to right: Christopher Weeks, Adam Walker, Edward Fletcher, Professor Labib Habachi, Emily Weeks, Katrina Walker

NEWS OF OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

Meetings: Fall/Winter 1976

The Thirtieth Annual Conference of the
MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE:

"The Process of Development in the
Middle East: Goals and Achievements"
October 15 and 16, 1976
at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.

The Middle East Institute
1761 N. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

The Seventy-Eighth General Meeting
of the
ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA
December 28, 29, 30, 1976
at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel

The Archeological Institute
of America
260 West Broadway
New York, New York 10013

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO,
SCHOOL OF CONTINUING STUDIES,
in cooperation with
THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF
EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES
Presents a Symposium:

"The Amarna Period - An Update for
Teachers and Amateur Egyptologists"
November 27, 1976
at the St. George Campus, University of Toronto

The Society for the Study
of Egyptian Antiquities
30 Chestnut Park
Toronto, M4W 1W6
Ontario

THE EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ORGANIZATION
and
UNESCO

Present Joint Meetings:

"The International Committee for the
Nag Hammadi Codices"
and
"Colloquium of the Future of Coptic Studies"
December 8-18, 1976
at the Shepheard's Hotel, Cairo

For further information,
write:
Prof. James M. Robinson
Institute for Antiquity
and Christianity
831 Dartmouth Avenue
Claremont, California 91711

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF EGYPTOLOGY
October 2-10, 1976
Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt

For further information,
write:
Dr. Dietrich Wildung
Seminar für München
Meiserstrasse 10
8000 München 2
Federal Republic of Germany

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the
MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION
November 10-13, 1976
at the Hyatt Regency Hotel
Los Angeles, California

The Middle East Studies
Association of North
America, Inc.
Hagop Kevorkian Center
for Near Eastern Studies
50 Washington Square South
New York, New York 10003

A NEW ASSOCIATION IS FORMED

We are pleased to announce the formation of THE EGYPTIAN AMERICAN ASSOCIATION. Founded this year, the E.A.A. is a private, non-profit organization, designed to provide a wide range of educational and cultural services to its members and to the general public.

Included among the objectives of the EGYPTIAN AMERICAN ASSOCIATION are the following:

Cultural Exchange

- to foster close ties between North American residents of Egyptian origin and those individuals who are interested in the heritage and welfare of this group
- to encourage communication and cooperation with other organizations pursuing similar goals
- to offer a wide range of cultural and social services to members of the Association through the establishment of a Center

Research and Education

- to stimulate research in areas relating to Egypt and to appropriate questions
- to investigate action-oriented issues relevant to the Egyptian-American community

Service to Immigrants

- to assist Egyptian immigrants in orienting themselves to life in North America
- to facilitate the immigrant's continuation of education, by providing information on schools, fees, and scholarships
- to offer assistance preparatory to citizenship examinations in the areas of North American history and language

Membership in the E.A.A. is open to persons of Egyptian origin and to non-Egyptian individuals who are interested in the promotion of the Association's objectives. The categories of membership are as follows:

Sustaining	Annual Fee \$100
Family	Annual Fee \$ 50
Regular (1)	Annual Fee \$ 25
Student	Annual Fee \$ 15
Honorary (2) [non-voting]	

Notes

- (1) must be at least 18 years of age and a full-time student at an accredited institution
- (2) by invitation of the Board of Directors

For further information, please write to:

The E.A.A.
Post Office Box 245
Bowling Green Station
New York, New York 10004

LECTURE SERIES

With the assistance of the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art of the Brooklyn Museum, the Egyptian American Association will sponsor a lecture series on ancient Egypt. All lectures will be held on Saturdays, at 1:00 p.m. in the Museum's auditorium.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
December 11, 1976	"General Survey of Early Egyptian History"	Mr. Richard Fazzini
January 15, 1977	"The Old Kingdom"	Mr. James Romano
February 5, 1977	"Akhenaten"	Mr. Bruce Hungerford
February 12, 1977	"Tutankhamen"	Mr. Bruce Hungerford
February 19, 1977	"The Middle Kingdom"	Dr. Robert Bianchi
February 26, 1977	"The New Kingdom"	Dr. Robert Bianchi
March 5, 1977	"Pharaonic Egyptian Culture"	To be announced

The general public is invited to attend.

TUTANKHAMEN VISITS THE U.S.

Below is a copy of the press release issued by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, announcing the opening of the U.S. exhibition of treasures from the tomb of King Tutankhamen.

EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT TO SEND EXHIBITION OF KING TUT TREASURES TO SIX MAJOR CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

A six-city tour of the United States of the fabulous gold, alabaster, and jeweled treasures from the tomb of the Egyptian King Tutankhamen will begin in November, 1976, according to an agreement signed today, October 28, 1975, by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy. The exhibition will be seen in New York at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in December, 1978.

The loan of Tut treasures was called for in a joint statement signed in June, 1974, by Presidents Nixon and Sadat during Nixon's Egyptian visit. This announcement climaxes the arrangements for the tour, which were conducted by officials of the United States and Egyptian governments as well as Egyptian and United States museum officials.

The exhibition will open at The National Gallery of Art in November, 1976; it will then be seen at The Field Museum, Chicago, April, 1977, under the joint sponsorship of the University of Chicago and The Field Museum; The New Orleans Museum of Art, September, 1977; The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, February, 1978; The Seattle Art Museum, July, 1978; and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, December, 1978. Although the dates are tentative, each museum will have the exhibition on view for approximately four months. By mutual agreement of the participating museums, the Metropolitan Museum will manage the consortium. Metropolitan Museum staff members working on the exhibition are under the direction of Thomas Hoving, Director, and Christine Lilyquist, Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art.

King Tut Exhibition

The exhibition will include fifty-five of the most beautiful and representative of the tomb treasures. Chief among them will be one of the most remarkable effigies in the history of man, the solid gold mask of Tutankhamen, beaten and burnished, inlaid with carnelian, lapis lazuli, colored glass and quartz. The exhibition will also include two famous statues of Tutankhamen - the large figure of the king made of gilded wood and the statuette of him harpooning.

All costs of transportation and installation of the exhibition in the United States will be borne by the six participating institutions. There will be no special admission charge to the exhibition.

Proceeds from the sale of printed materials and reproductions will be donated, after expenses, for the work of the Organizations of Antiquities of the Egyptian government, principally for major renovations of the Cairo Museum. A contribution by an anonymous donor will enable the Metropolitan Museum to provide further technical assistance, expertise and basic equipment for the renovation work.

The installation of the exhibition will include many photographs recording the discovery and opening of the tomb by British archaeologist Howard Carter in 1922. The Metropolitan Museum holds the originals of these photographs, which were taken by staff members of a Metropolitan Museum expedition working at a nearby site at the time. Unlike previous tomb discoveries, all ransacked by centuries of tomb robbers, not only had Tutankhamen's mummy been preserved intact inside its sarcophagus and three golden coffins, but most of the funerary treasures and the king's personal possessions have survived virtually untouched as well.

EGYPTIAN GIFT TO U.S.

The following article appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on July 16, 1976.

EGYPT GIVES U.S. ANCIENT STONE TABLET

Washington

President Ford has received an ancient memorial tablet as a bicentennial gift from Egyptian President Sadat.

The tablet, brought to the White House by Rear Adm. Fouad Zikri, commander of the Egyptian Navy, was carved in 1420 B.C. and was discovered in 1967. It shows an Egyptian family pleading for eternal life for their dead son.

Admiral Zikri said in a written statement presented to Mr. Ford that the tablet, called a stela, depicted the determination of Egypt, then and now, to safeguard its national honor and to defend its liberty against outsiders.

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TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF THE AFTERLIFE IN ISLAM

Jane I. Smith
Harvard University
ARCE Fellow, 1975-76

MANIFOLD TYPE
Prestige Elite TYPE
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indent 10 spaces
to 20
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My purpose in going to Egypt was to study the contemporary understanding of traditional concepts of the afterlife in Islam. It is, of course, obvious that in a few months one can scarcely expect to conduct an in-depth study; I did find, however that I had sufficient time for contacting a great number of persons involved in one way or another in the pursuit of this topic (see Appendix A) and for collecting materials to be collated and studied upon my return.

The materials and resources considered for this study can be divided into two categories: those dealing with what I would call the 'theological' treatment of concepts of life after death and those pertaining to contemporary beliefs and practices. This report will briefly summarize general findings in both of these categories, with the clear recognition that conclusions are extremely tentative and the real task of analysis of materials remains to be done on my return.

Under the category of theology I attempted to discover what kinds of contemporary *tafsirs* are being written and read and what new thinking, if any, characterizes the general writings being published today. The three most commonly accepted works of *tafsir* seem to be those of Muhammad 'Abduh, Tantawi Jawhari and Sayyid Qutub (see Appendix B). It was generally admitted by those to whom I spoke that no really new *tafsir* was being written, at least any accepted as authoritative, and in fact that the 1960's and 1970's have not yielded new theological writings at all. I examined these three commentaries at length and found several points at which they seem to set the tone for much of the other contemporary writing on the subject of life after death. 'Abduh, in particular, emphasizes that while certain particulars of the afterlife can be assumed, basically those articulated in the Qur'an, the whole subject, in general, is part of the '*alam al-ghayb*', the world of the unknown, which one cannot hope to know even by analogy. The scientific orientation of Tantawi Jawhari is one which again characterizes much contemporary writing, with the attempt to explain the phenomena attested to by the Qur'an (and sometimes the Traditions) in terms of scientifically verifiable writers and events. The trend toward scientific understanding is in one way a plea for increased emphasis on a rational approach to the material, yet in another way seems clearly akin to the kind of conservative and pietistic approach that seems to characterize so much contemporary theological writing.

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75

The second category in which I attempted to study the concept of life after death in Islam dealt with the current beliefs and practices of Muslims, particularly (but not exclusively) in the Cairo area. Of particular assistance in this (through his books and personal interviews) was Sayyid 'Uwways of the Institute for Social and Criminological Research. He shared with me the results of his intensive study of percentages of educated Muslims who continue to believe in the particulars of the *barzakh* period between death and resurrection and the day of resurrection, such as the questioning of the angels, the punishment of the grave, etc. In general, a relatively high proportion still accepts these general concepts. Also useful was 'Uwways' study of the letters sent to Imam Shafi'i, illustrating the extend to which a deceased *imam* is considered by many to possess remarkable powers of intercession in the affairs of the living.

I supplemented Dr. 'Uwways' studies with a number of visits to the tombs of saints in Cairo and in Upper Egypt, particularly those which remain popular places of visitation (such as those of Sayyidna Hussein, Sayyida Ruqqaya, Sayyida Nafisa, Sayyida Zeinab and Iman Shafi'i). Whenever possible I talked with the local *shaykhs* and *imams* associated with the tombs and *mashhads* to determine the frequency of visitation and, in particular, the kinds of requests made by the living of the dead. For the most part, it appears that the dead saints (who are, of course, considered to be very much alive and active in the continuing affairs of this world) are asked to intervene primarily in everyday affairs such as the settling of grievances, the curing of illnesses, etc. In some instances, saints are asked to intercede with God for the spiritual welfare of the supplicant, but this seems relatively infrequent. While the orthodox Muslim faith admits the role of dead saints as intercessors with God only (and that at best), it seems clear that for many believers they are considered to have powers in and of themselves which allow them to act directly in the lives of those still on earth.

I would like to comment that I found it particularly useful to have Dr. Hassanein Rabī' associated with ARCE as an aid in helping me find telephone numbers and setting up contacts for interviews. On the whole I found my time in Egypt to be most rewarding and fruitful. Without exception, those with whom I had interviews were extremely cordial and did much to facilitate my research. I shall express my gratitude to each; in the meantime, I would like to thank ARCE for the opportunity to spend this time in Egypt and for the support and help offered during my stay here.

1 1/2"

Again recognizing the dangers of making loose generalizations, it might be useful here to note some of the points which seem to be reiterated in most of the contemporary writings on theology and articulated by many of those to whom I spoke. [These points will, of course, be refined when this material is further studied and written up in final form]:

1. Particulars of the afterlife as found in the Qur'an are accepted without question, though even these (to say nothing of the many particulars found in the *ḥadīth* materials) are often not written about or commented on. Qur'an verses are cited with great frequency to support particular points, but as a total picture of eschatological events usually only a bare outline of those accepted by the orthodox Sunni creeds of Islam is provided.
2. The main emphasis is on eschatology as one of the five articles of faith ('*aqīdā*): belief in God, His Angel, His Books, His Messenger, and the Day of Resurrection.
3. The intent of the writing that is done on the afterlife most often is not a description *per se* of events to come but an inspiration to live ethically in this world as proper preparation for the future life.
4. As an apparent counter to intellectual/philosophical criticism of the idea of the resurrection of the body there is a great stress on God's ability to recreate as He has originally created.
5. There is much discussion about God's justice and mercy as the most important factors in determining the afterlife -- in many cases this seems to be the old Mu'tazili argument in modern dress. There is much emphasis put on the reality of man's freedom, although set in the context of the totality of God's will.
6. I found general acceptance of Mustafa Mahmud as one of the most popular spokesmen of contemporary theology; many of his works deal with general questions of life after death. Some of his main themes are:
 - a) this world as a prototype of the hereafter;
 - b) the continuing step-by-step ascent of the spirit to God after death;
 - c) the symbolic nature of descriptions of the Garden and the Fire;
 - d) hell as the lowest abode of existence, the pure essence of punishment, and the Garden as the essence of well-being.
7. Contemporary western writings about spiritualism seem to have caught the imagination of a number of Muslim writers: some espouse the spiritualist ideas with enthusiasm and others attack them as inconsistent with the Qur'anic picture of the afterlife.

Appendix A: Persons with whom interviews were held between March 3 and May 4, 1976

I. University Faculty

University of Cairo

Ibrāhīm Ja'far and Ahmad Shalabī - Kulīyat Dār al-'Ulūm
Hassan Ahmad Mahmūd and 'Atīf al-'Iraqī - Kulīyat al-Adāb

'Ain Shams University

'Azmi Islam (Philosophy)
'Abd al-Azīz Sulayman Nuwār (History)
'Iffat Sharkāwī (Arabic Studies)

Alexandria University

Ahmad Subhy (Philosophy and Theology)
'Abd al-Rahmān 'Issāwī (Psychology)

American University of Cairo

Mohammed Nowaihi (Islamic Theology)
Sausan al-Misīrī (Anthropology)

II. Others

Ahmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī - *Dār al-Kutub*, Research Department
(Markaz Tahqīq at-Turāth)

Al-Azhar

- a) 'Abd al-Wadūd Shalabī - Adārat al-Azhar
Editor in chief, *Majallat al-Azhar*
- b) Muhya al-Dīn Alwaye - Editor English Section,
Majallat al-Azhar
- c) Shaykh Khalaf al-Sayyid 'Alī - Head, Islamics Studies
Division of Azhar
- d) 'Abd al-Halīm Mahmūd - Shaykh al-Azhar

Mustafā Mahmūd - Editor, *Sabah al-Khayr*

Sayyid 'Uwways - Institute for Social and Criminological Research

Appendix B.: Contemporary writings analyzed in this study

1. 'Abd al-Razzāq Nawfal, *al-Hayāt al-'Ukhrā* and *Yaum al-Qiyāmah*
2. Sayyid Qutub, *Fī Zilāl al-Quran* and *Mashāhid al-Qiyāmah*
fī al-Qur'ān
3. Ahmad Galwash, *The Religion of Islam* I and II

4. Mustafā Mahmūd, *Al-Ruh wa'l-jasad, Rihlat min al-shakilla'l-imām, al-Qur'ān, al-Marṣīyah wa'l-Islam, Muḥammad, Hiwār ma'a sadiqī al-mulhid, Einstein wa-Nisbiyah, al-Tuffān, al-Tarīq ila'l-Ka'bah, Lughz al-Hiyah, Ra'aytu Allāh, al-Sirr al-Azam, al-Afyūm, al-Shytān Yakhum*
5. Nawwal al-Missiri, "Sheikh Cult in Dakhmit (M.A. Thesis, A.U.C.)
6. Farīd Māhir, *Karamāt al-Awliyā*
7. 'Alī 'Abd al-Jalīl Rādī, *al-Mauta Ya'ūdūn*
8. A series of selections from *Majallat al-Azhar*
9. Muhammad Abduh, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*
10. Tantawi Jawhari, *al-Jawāhir fī tafsīr al-Q. al-K.*
11. Sayyid 'Uwways, *Lutāf al-Sāmitīn, Al-Khulūd fī Hayāt al-Misriyīn al-Mu'asirīn, Min Malāmih al-Mujtama' al-Misrī*
12. Hasan 'Izzuddīn al-Jamal, *al-Mawt wa'l-Hayāt*
13. Hasan al-Sharqāwī, *Alfāz al-Sufīyah*
14. Mahumud Shaltūt, *al-Islām: 'Aqīdah wa-Sharī'ah*
15. Muhammad Shāhīn Hamzah, *Ma'l'l-Fikr al-Islāmī*
16. Mustafa al-Kīk, *Rasā'il 'Ilayhim*
17. Sa'īd Tah al-Kurdī, *al-Mawt fī Khidmat al-Hayāt*
18. Muhammad Kamāl al-Dīn al-Adhamī, *Kitāb Tadhkīr bi'l-Marjī' wa'l-Masīr*
19. Muhammad Mādī Abū'l-'Azā'im, *Tafsīl al-Nash'ah al-Thāniah*
20. Ibtisām Markūn al-Saffār, *al-Ta'ābir al-Qur'āniyah wa'l-Bī'ah al-'Arabīyah fī Mashāhid al-Qiyāmah*

مركز البحوث الإسلامية بمصر

THE ARCE PROJECT IN MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC LOGIC:
"AVERROES'S MIDDLE COMMENTARIES ON ARISTOTLE'S ORGANON"
INTERIM REPORT - AUGUST 1, 1976

Charles E. Butterworth
Principle Investigator

The project in Medieval Islamic Logic is primarily an editing project. Its final goal is a scholarly edition of the Arabic manuscripts of the Middle Commentaries which Averroes wrote on the first five books of Aristotle's *Organon*, i.e., his Middle Commentaries on Aristotle's *Categories*, *De Interpretatione*, *Prior Analytics*, *Posterior Analytics*, and *Topics*. During this period of the project, the immediate goal was a preliminary version of Averroes's *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics* and the preparation of publishable manuscripts for his *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* and his *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's De Interpretatione*. I am pleased to report that these goals were attained and attained earlier than expected.

Although the summer was not without frustrations or unexpected difficulties, they were overcome and almost overshadowed by other, more pleasant, occurrences. What was especially pleasing during this stage of the project was the unexpected help that came from Egyptian colleagues at particularly critical moments.

I arrived in Cairo expecting to spend a few days putting the last touches on the two volumes finished during the preceding stage, i.e., the *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* and the *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics*. However, it soon became clear that it would take more than a few days to add those last touches. During a review of the completed work, I noticed a number of errors which had previously escaped my attention and concluded that a complete check of the previous work would be necessary. Consequently, it was necessary to infringe on the time allotted for the next stage of the project, and it looked as though that infringement would keep me from attaining the goals set for the summer. This was the moment at which the unexpected help from Egyptian colleagues arrived. But to explain this in a more coherent manner, it seems useful to discuss the particulars of the editing project.

Averroes's *Middle Commentaries on Aristotle's Organon* exist in three Arabic manuscripts. Two, the Florence and Leiden manuscripts, are very old (about 14th century) and quite faithful manuscripts. Written in a clear Maghrebi hand, they contain all of Averroes's *Middle Commentaries on Aristotle's Organon*, i.e., the Middle Commentaries on the five treatises with which this project is concerned as well as the Middle Commentaries on Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetics*.

The third manuscript is from the Cairo *Dār al-Kutub* and is quite recent (late 18th century). Written in an Oriental hand, it contains a number of errors and generally betrays the literary ignorance of the scribe. However, it corrects the Florence and Leiden manuscripts in many instances and offers plausible readings not found in either of the other two manuscripts. Thus, however faulty its scribal quality, it cannot be neglected.

None of the manuscripts clearly stands out as a candidate for being the base manuscript, and it is therefore necessary to read the two older manuscripts as equals, to correcting one or the other on the basis of grammatical rules or judgments about the sense of the argument. According to these standards, variant readings from the Cairo manuscript sometimes seem preferable.

Since this part of the project is a continuation of work begun by the late Dr. Mahmoud Kassem, we begin with the text he established and read it against the Florence, Leiden, and Cairo manuscripts in order to note the variants in each manuscript. Then it is necessary to study Averroes' argument and determine how best to organize the text into paragraphs and sections, as well as where to punctuate it for sentences. Finally, it is necessary to read and re-read the text in order to eliminate errors in the selection of variants and in order to insure that the text is a faithful rendering of the best sense of the manuscripts.

When I arrived in Cairo and noticed the errors in the earlier work, I decided to read each manuscript over again and to compare it with the typewritten version I had previously established. Once it became clear that this time-consuming process would keep me from working on the *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics*, two Egyptian colleagues from the *Dār al-Kutub* suggested meeting in the afternoon and evening to review the manuscripts together, thereby speeding up the work somewhat. These men would leave their library jobs at 1:30, have a hurried lunch, and then join me at 4:30 to work for five and six hours on this tedious task. My Egyptian collaborator was the fourth member of the group. By sheer determination and by much good will, we managed to plough through the 400 typed pages of the *Prior Analytics* and correct the errors that had crept into the work.

We finished these comparative reading sessions on July 22, enabling me to devote the remainder of my stay to the text itself. I discovered an order in Averroes's argument that seems to have eluded my predecessor and am now planning to spend the better part of the fall putting the text into a format that reflects that order. Averroes's commentary on the *Prior Analytics* requires additional study for another reason: it is

the richest of his commentaries on Aristotle's *Organon* and is filled with references to many of his predecessors, both Arabic and Greek. All of those references must be explored.

At this point, the project is growing out of its original editing skin and is developing into a problem of scholarly significance. Questions of philosophic import can now be formulated and, once formulated, may lead to a better understanding of the way Averroes commented on Aristotle, as well as to the use Averroes and al-Farabi made their famous Greek predecessors. Throughout the earlier commentaries, Averroes stressed Aristotle's dependence on unexamined opinion. As he moves into his study of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*, Averroes abandons those reflections and begins to speculate about how the proper use of syllogistic reasoning helps one acquire scientific knowledge and about the firmer basis of Aristotle's arguments for this branch of the logical art.

While these remarks are tentative and still remain to be researched, they are the immediate fruit of this stage of the project and suggest why I am so pleased with what has been accomplished thus far. And once again, none of it could have been accomplished had it not been for the gracious and unselfish help of generous Egyptian colleagues.

مركز البحوث الإسلامية بمصر

THE BOOKSTORES OF CAIRO

Roger Allen, University of Pennsylvania
ARCE Fellow, 1975-76

Scholars who use Arabic as a research language will come to Cairo for a variety of reasons and will use the facilities which the city has to offer in different ways. However, almost all of them will have recourse to the city's many bookstores. Those scholars who have made several visits to Cairo will no doubt know the name and location of many of them, and what follows may not be of much interest to them. However, the most seasoned of old-timers should be warned that recent years have seen a considerable blossoming of publication outlets, so that there may even be some new names for them.

With regard to books in print, the scholar has a relatively easy task, although it does differ from the analogous situation in the West. Most books are purchased at the bookstore of the publisher. Thus, in order to find a particular book, it will usually be necessary to know not only the name of the author and the title, but also the name of the publisher. If this information is not known, a consultation with one of the catalogues of books in print (The American University of Cairo Press is in the process of publishing at least two such volumes) or with the American University in Cairo Library catalogue will normally provide the required information. A visit to the appropriate bookstore will then - *in shā' l-llāh* - bring its just reward.

Books not in print are another matter. It is perhaps ironic that the great works of the "classical" or "pre-modern" period are probably more available than those dealing with that part of the "modern" period before the 1952 revolution, and especially the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There are, however, several bookstores which specialize in older and rarer materials. In such cases, patience and frequent visits to the appropriate bookstore will often be rewarded. For those who have even more time than most, it is also possible to leave lists of *desiderata* with such specialists in the hope that the required volumes will appear one day. In the case of this writer, that has frequently spanned two separate visits to Cairo, with a gap of three years in between!

The list which follows is neither complete nor particularly well organized; it is best regarded as a start. I hope that other scholars who come to Cairo and find other stores which specialize in *their* interests may find the time to add to this list, to correct

it and/or update it. It may then perhaps become a useful reference for those scholars who come to Cairo for the first time. Incidentally, in each case I have provided as much information as I have been able to obtain. As some scholars may be aware, Egyptian book publishers are sometimes reticent about providing the most basic information about themselves or their books and, while the situation has improved, there is still a residual reticence about providing the kind of information which this list attempts to give.

I BOOKSTORES SELLING CURRENTLY PUBLISHED MATERIALS

1. 'Ālam al-Fikr 2, Midan Sayyidna l-Husayn
2. 'Ālam al-Kutub 38 Shari' (henceforth, Sh.) 'Abd al-Khaliq Tharwat (Tel: 51401)
3. Dār (henceforth, D.) al-Fikr 15 Sh. Sharif
4. D. al-Fikr al-'Arabī 11 Sh. Gawwad Husni
5. D. Gharīb li l-Tibā'a 13 Sh. Nubar (Lazoghly)
6. D. Harrā' 23 Sh. Sharif
7. D. al-I'tisām li l-Tibā'a wa l-Nashr 8 Sh. Gawwad Husni
8. D. al-Kitāb al-'Arabī 53 Sh. Gumhuriyya
9. D. al-Kitāb al-'Irāqī 14 Sh. Tal'at Harb (Tel: 71396)
10. D. al-Ma'ārif -Sh. Kamil Sidqi, Faggala
-Corner of 'Abd al-Khaliq Tharwat and Sharif
11. D. Nahda Misr li-l-Tab' wa l-Hashr 3 Sh. Kamil Sidqi, Fagalla
12. D. al-Sha'b Sh. Qasr al-'Aini
13. D. al-Sharq 8 Sh. Tal'at Harb
14. D. al-Shurūq 16 Sh. Gawwad Husni
15. D. al-Thaqāfa al-Jadīda 32 Sh. Sabri Abu 'Alam
16. D. al-Thaqafa al-'Ammā 8 Sh. Bustan
17. D. al-Turāth Sh. Gumhuriyya

18. *Al-Hay'a al-Misriyya al-'Āmma* (General Egyptian Book Organization)
-36 Sh. Sharif
-19 Sh. 26 Yuliyu
-International Book Centre, 30 Sh. 26 Yuliyu
-Bab al-Akhdar, Sayyidna l-Husayn (east side)
19. *Kitābāt Mu'āsira* P.O. Box 1361, Cairo
20. *Al-Maktab al-Misrī li l-Tab' wa l-Nashr* 2 Sh. Sharif
21. *Maktaba* (henceforth, M.) *Anglo-Misriyya* 165 Sh. Muhammad Farid
(Tel: 914337)
22. *M. al-'Arab* 28 Sh. Faggala
23. *Al-Maktaba al-'Arabiyya li l-Tibā'a wa l-Nashr*
Continental Hotel, Opera Square
24. *M. al-Ahrām* Sh. 'Imad al-Dīn
25. *M. Gharīb* Sh. Kamil Sidqi, Faggala
26. *M. Khangī* 11 Sh. 'Abd al-'Aziz
27. *M. Misr* 3 Sh. Kamil Sidqi, Faggala
28. *M. Muḥammad Madbūlī* 6 Midan Tal'at Harb
29. *M. al-Nahda al-Misriyya* 9 Sh. 'Adli (Tel: 910994)
30. *M. Al-Muthannā li-l-Tibā' wa l-Nashr wa l-Tawzī'*
14 Sh. Gumhuriyya, Qasr al-'Aini
31. *M. al-Qāhira* (P.O. Box 946) Sh. Sanadiqiyya (Tel: 905909)
32. *M. Rose al-Yūsuf* Sh. Amin Sami (off Qasr al-'Aini)
33. *M. al-Zahrā* 8 Sh. 'Abd al-Aziz
34. *Multazim al-Tab' wa l-Nashr--Maktaba al-Ādāb* Al-Gamamiz
35. *Mu'assasa al-Thaqāfa al-Jāmi'iyya* 40 Sh. Dr. Mustafa Mashraqa
36. *Mahtābi' al-Nāshir al-'Arabī* 8 Sh. al-Sahafa (Tel: 76248)
37. *Al-Qāhira li l-Taqāfa al-'Arabiyya* 62 Sh. Gumhuriyya
(Tel: 912399)

ADDENDA

38. *D. al-Hanā li l-Tibā'a* (Tel: 81327)
 39. *D. al-'Ilm* 40 Sh. Khayrat (Al-Maliyya)
 40. *D. al-Maf'rifa* Sh. Sab-i Abu 'Alam
 41. *Al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubra* Midan al-'Ataba
- II BOOKSTORES SPECIALIZING IN CLASSICAL AND OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS
42. *'Isā al-Babī al-Halabī* 5 Sh. Khan Ga'far,
Sayyidna Husayn (west side)
P.O. Box Ghuriyya 26 (Tel: 905871/908856)
 43. *Muhammad 'Alī Subayh* Midan Al-Azhar
 44. *Mu'assasa al-Halabi wa Sharikahu li-l-Nashr wa l-Tawzī'*
14 Sh. Gawwad Husni (Tel: 56155)
 45. The many bookstalls on the famous Ezbekiyya wall.

III OTHER SOURCES OF BOOKS

Under this heading I will include two items of interest. Cairo's bookbinders are extremely efficient at finding out-of-print books. My own choice is Sa'd of *Darb al-Ahmar*; interested searchers will have to ask an old hand to take them to his shop for the first time, since it lies about half a mile into the labyrinthine alleys of *Darb al-Ahmar*.

Secondly, such a brief collection of information on books as this would not be complete without mentioning a major source of books, and that in a fashion generally much more convenient than that one we have described above. At the *mawlid*s of major Islamic figures (the Prophet Muhammad, Sayyida Zaynab, Al-Husayn) and during Ramadan, the Cairo bookpublishers offer their works in a large tent erected near the shrine in question (in Ramadan, it is to be found in the Al-Husayn Square). Here, books may be purchased at a substantial discount (as much as 25%), and the additional advantage is that all the booksellers are to be found in one place. A similar occasion on an even larger scale is now held annually at the Exhibition Grounds on the Gezira. The Cairo International Book Fair, held every January, attracts a large number of Egyptian and foreign publishing companies, and it is possible to buy all kinds of books at discounts as large - if not larger - than that mentioned above.

I should like to close by again urging that this list be updated by successive generations of visitors to Cairo and its bookstores. "Happy hunting" and time saved in the process will be to the benefit of us all.

THE ARCE PROJECT IN
MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHICAL MANUSCRIPTS
PROJECT REPORT - JULY 1976

Dimitri Gutas, Project Director

The project on medieval Islamic philosophy of the American Research Center in Egypt was initiated in September, 1975. Its initial purpose was the preparation of a *catalogue raisonné* of the Arabic philosophical manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library in Cairo.

After a preliminary investigation of the available published material on the manuscript collections in Cairo, it was decided to begin by concentrating on the cataloguing of the smaller *Taymūr* and *Tal'at* collections, and then to proceed "with the others as the circumstances allow" ("Proposal," p.4, section VI). The soundness of this line of approach was borne out when the actual situation regarding the manuscript collections in Cairo was surveyed by the Director during his stay in Egypt. A few modifications, however, will have to be introduced into the entire procedure in order to reflect the existing state of affairs and to guide future work to a more fruitful conclusion.

In addition to the contents of the original Royal Library (the Khedivial Library: *Dār al-Kutub* and *Mustafā Fādīl* collections) and to the six smaller collections mentioned in the "Proposal" (p. 1, pp. 3-4), it has been established that the Egyptian National Library houses at least one more such collection, the *Zakiyya*, unknown through any published source.

In the National Library, the manuscripts are classified and shelved according to subject. For philosophy (*hikmah*), logic (*manṭiq*), ethics (*aklāq*), and the manuscripts containing more than one work (*majmā'i*'), the official, hand-written registers of the Library, which list the contents of each collection, have been examined and were found to contain the following number of philosophical manuscripts: (These numbers are approximate. Manuscripts of philosophical content are often classified and shelved with those of another, related subject. These related classifications, e.g., theology, will have to be combed for a final inventory of the philosophical manuscripts.)

<i>Dār al-Kutub:</i>	250	<i>Khalīl Āgā:</i>	20
<i>Mustafā Fādīl:</i>	90	<i>Makram:</i>	15
<i>Taymūr:</i>	200	<i>Qawala:</i>	25
<i>Halīm:</i>	30	<i>Zakiyya:</i>	50
<i>Tal'at:</i>	200		

A working checklist of manuscripts from which detailed cataloguing can proceed has been prepared for the following collections: *Dār al-Kutub*, *Mustafā Fādīl*, *Taymūr*, *Tal'at*, *Halīm*, *Khalīl Āgā*, *Makram*, *Qawala*. Of these collections, *Halīm* and *Taymūr* have been almost fully catalogued, and cataloguing has begun on collections *Dār al-Kutub*, *Mustafā Fādīl*, and *Tal'at*.

During the process of cataloguing and reviewing various manuscripts, it has been established that certain manuscripts in one of the abovementioned collections are copies of those in another. This implies that a catalogue of the former collection would be incomplete without any reference to the manuscripts of the latter collection. Thus it becomes necessary, for the greater scientific worth of the project, to include in the catalogue all the collections housed in the Egyptian National Library. As has been mentioned above, cataloguing work on the manuscripts of collections *Dār al-Kutub*, *Mustafā Fādīl*, and *Halīm* has already begun.

The Director has also visited the libraries of Cairo University, al-Azhar University, and the Municipal Library of Alexandria, and has consulted the manuscripts in their possession. In some instances, a direct connection between manuscripts in the National Library and those at al-Azhar University has been established. This is to be expected. Manuscripts copies in Cairo from other copies also in Cairo would tend to remain in the city and be distributed, through donation or purchase, among the various libraries. This is especially the case with relatively late scholastic works that were used for instructions as al-Azhar. Determining and indicating the affiliation of the manuscripts existing in Cairo would greatly increase the usefulness of the catalogue. It might be considered feasible to catalogue the philosophical manuscripts in these libraries as well.

The Egyptian National Library is open daily, except Fridays and holidays, from 9:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. In terms of the realities of Cairo, this allows for a practically four-hour working day. The same hours are observed by the libraries of the universities. This year, the manuscript reading room of the National Library was closed during the months of April through June for the purpose of taking an inventory of the entire manuscript holdings of the Library. The progress of the project was thereby considerably delayed.

Severe difficulties for the project were created by the lack of a well-equipped reference and secondary material library in Cairo, either at the ARCE or at other institutions. The combined use of the following libraries, at the expense of considerable time and effort, diminished only by half the necessity for a well-equipped library: the libraries of the

American University in Cairo, the French Archaeological Institute, the German Archaeological Institute, the Dominican Institute for Oriental Studies, and the National Library of Egypt. In the latter, for books published prior to 1930, there is a minimum wait of two days before the books can be examined.

MUHAMMAD ALI AND THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Afaf Marsot, ARCE Fellow 1975-1976

After five months of research in the Egyptian national archives, *Dar al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyya*, the image of Muhammad Ali that has emerged is different from the one heretofore portrayed in most secondary sources. More than ever, it is clear to me that a reappraisal of the Pasha and of his era is long overdue. Furthermore, while investigating this question, the relevance of Muhammad Ali's problems to contemporary Egyptian issues has become increasingly obvious.

As I am still in the process of researching, the following conclusions can only be tentative; nonetheless, the substantial amount of material available in the archives has resulted in the following observations. Much of this archival material appears in the form of letters between Muhammad Ali and his children, from the Pasha to his subordinates, and to his *Kapu-Katkhoda* at the Sublime Porte. These letters reveal a remarkable man, one whose progressive ideas put him far ahead of his time, whose political acumen was extremely acute, and who might have transformed the whole of the Near East had he not been restrained by the Great Powers.

The first observation is that far from being *un primitif* as many of his French subordinates have depicted him, the Pasha was a highly sophisticated man. He was well-informed on political and economic matters, both in Europe and in the Porte. The breadth and variety of Muhammad Ali's projects and his insatiable intellectual curiosity lead us to the conclusion that he was far above most of the men of his time, western and oriental.

This fact leads us to wonder from where Muhammad Ali derived his progressive ideas. Were they suggested to him by his European employees or were they his own? The archival material suggests that Muhammad Ali's plans were very much his own. He had a vision and sought to transform it into reality. He instructed his subordinates and it was never the other way round. Even when people thought that they were manipulating or teaching him, they were in fact being manipulated by him. Muhammad Ali was illiterate for half of his long life, and perhaps because of this he had a deep respect and an admiration for education. He believed that knowledge, *al-ulūm wal-funūn* (today we might say, "technology"), was the key to progress and in many of his letters to his children he enjoins them to acquire such knowledge.

The second observation is that while most authors have dwelt on the Pasha's "Machiavellian" traits, few have underlined his lucidity about himself and his subjects. Even fewer have emphasized his basic benevolence. Though his reign was punctuated by acts of cruelty, many of them were committed in direct contradiction to his orders. His letters to his sons and to his subordinates bear a constant theme: the need to treat the population firmly but kindly. "Conquest and pacification can only succeed by gaining the sympathy of the inhabitants through just rule," he wrote to his son Ismail, reproaching him for his brutal methods of conquest in the Sudan. Every *mudīr* was ordered to treat the *fellahin* kindly, for Egypt's prosperity depended on their well-being. Clemency, modesty, and thrift were the attributes he admired most in a ruler. He attempted to instill these virtues in his children and his subordinates but without much success. Thus, compared to his suzerain and to many western rulers of the day, Muhammad Ali was more a benevolent despot than a tyrant.

The third observation is that the Pasha's grand design for himself and his family was a constant preoccupation from the very beginning of his reign. From as early as 1810, if not before, he strove to make Egypt independent of the Porte and to extend its frontiers to include Syria. He and his son, Ibrahim, had little respect for the Porte or for their suzerain. Muhammad Ali envisaged his role and that of Ibrahim as that of a *mair du palais*. Somewhat akin to the Köprülü in the past, he thought his family could save the empire from collapse and pull it together by forming a better administration in which the sultan would be maintained on the throne, as a symbol of unity, but not as the source of government. In the long run, this grand design was the cause of the Pasha's failure.

In the first place, the Powers, notably England, could not stand aside and watch the Ottoman throne fall into the clutches of the Egyptian *wali*. To a great extent, the British government's opposition to Muhammad Ali's plans was the cause of his undoing, for had they not blocked his moves, in the Morea and in Syria, his armies certainly would have defeated Ottoman opposition and reached Istanbul. In the second place, the repeated wars in which the Egyptian military was involved were a severe drain on the country's resources and brought it practically to the edge of bankruptcy by 1840. Yet, the Pasha's economic policies were generally sound; they were based on taxing agriculture heavily in order to create industry. However, the money derived from taxing agriculture - instead of being invested in industry - was expended in outfitting a fleet, and in a series of wars which spanned two decades.

If Muhammad Ali had concentrated his efforts toward reforming Egypt, rather than allowing himself to be diverted abroad, his industrial projects would not have failed through lack of funds, poor maintenance, and lack of supervision.

Egypt might have been well on the road to industrialization a whole century earlier. On the other hand, one can assert with some confidence that if the Pasha's campaigns in the Morea and in Syria had not been checkmated by the western powers, his empire would have compensated him with new revenues for his locally financed army and navy. Moreover, his fleet would have become an important force in commerce and trade.

It is certainly true, however, that Muhammad Ali radically altered the direction of Egyptian development, socially, economically, and politically. He encouraged new methods of production in agriculture and in industry. He introduced more than two hundred new crops which are cultivated to the present day. He changed administrative techniques. He created a navy and an army from people who had been docile for centuries. In so doing, he paved the way for new ideas, new customs, and new values, intentionally or not. In brief, he began a process of modernization. A social revolution had started, one which introduced a cash economy, private ownership of land, secular education, and technology. For good or for bad, Muhammad Ali had shaken Egypt thoroughly and dragged it from the anarchy of the *Mamlūk* age into the age of the nation-state.

مركز البحوث الشرقية بمصر

THE AMARNA PERIOD OF EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY EGYPT BIBLIOGRAPHY SUPPLEMENT 1975

by Edward K. Werner

This is the first of a series of annual supplements to "The Amarna Period of Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt--A Bibliography: 1965-1974" which appeared in the *ARCE Newsletter* No. 95. The purpose of this supplement is twofold: 1) it attempts to update the original bibliography with pertinent books and articles published during 1975, and 2) it provides the opportunity to incorporate items published during the 1965-1974 period of original coverage but which were missed. Readers are once again invited to submit any titles which may have thus far been omitted. For the purpose of this continuing bibliography, the Amarna Period is defined as the reigns of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare.

The materials included in this bibliography supplement have been classified into the same seven major subject divisions which were used in the original bibliography. The divisions are: (A) Akhenaten, Smenkhkare, and the Amarna Revolution; (B) Religion; (C) The Role of Nefertiti; (D) Pathological Studies and the Occupant of Valley Tomb No. 55; (E) Art; (F) Excavations and the Akhenaten Temple Project; and (G) Language and Writing (Including the Amarna Letters). It should be noted that the scope of the last division has been enlarged beyond the original title, i.e. The Amarna Letters, in order to accommodate future philological studies to appear as a result of findings of the Akhenaten Temple Project. Some titles appear in several divisions.

The seven major divisions are designated by capital letters, and each entry within is numbered consecutively, with capital letter prefix, without regard to subdivision. Citations are identified in the indexes by this code, rather than by pagination. Each major subject division is subdivided according to media form in the following order: Books, Journal Articles, Magazine Articles, and Special Articles.

The entries are arranged alphabetically by author's surname, or, if no author, editor, compiler, or other author source is indicated, by the first word of the title that is not an article of speech. Items with multiple editorship are also listed by title. When an entry was not seen by the bibliographer, the code (AEB) follows the annotation. These letters are the abbreviation for the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography*; all such entries were derived from the annotations in that source as a surrogate for personal assessment.

An author index is provided and subdivided by personal and corporate authorship. Arrangement of the personal author index is alphabetical by surname; the entry is followed by the letter-number code which refers the user to its location in the bibliography where a full citation is provided. Where an author appears more than once, each reference is cited. When two or more titles

by an author are included, each title, often abbreviated, is specified in parentheses followed by the appropriate reference code. The corporate author index is arranged alphabetically by city.

The title index is arranged alphabetically according to the first word of the title that is not an article of speech. When an entry appears in more than one subject division, each reference is cited. The reference code following the title refers the user to the full citation in the subject bibliography. Titles of books are underlined; articles are placed within double quotation marks.

I should again like to thank Diane Guzman of the Wilbour Library of Egyptology for her co-operation in this project. I shall also take this opportunity to express my gratitude to C. Aldred, E. L. Ertman and E. S. Meltzer for their suggestions and encouragement.

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A. Akhenaten, Smenkhkare, and the Amarna Revolution

Books

- A1. The Cambridge Ancient History. 3d ed. Edited by I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond and E. Sollberger. Vol. II, pt. 2. History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380-1000 B.C. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Chapter XIX, "Egypt: The Amarna Period and the End of the Eighteenth Dynasty" by Cyril Aldred, was originally published as fascicle 71 in 1971. The present version includes revisions made in 1973 with addenda to the bibliography.

- A2. Martin, G. T. The Rock Tombs of El-'Amarna, Part VII--The Royal Tomb of El-'Amarna, Vol. 1: The Objects. [Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 35th Memoir]. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1974.

The author concludes from evidence in the Royal Tomb that Meketaten was buried there some time after Year 12, and Akhenaten in or shortly after Year 17. The tomb was subsequently ravaged and the funerary equipment deliberately broken into fragments, probably under Horemheb or later in the Ramesside Period. It is also suggested that Meketaten's mummy and burial furnishings may have been transferred to Thebes. Bibliography included (pp. 114-118).

- A3. Perepelkin, Iurii Iakovlevich. Perevorot Amen-Khotpa IV. Chastv I. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 1967.

[The revolution of Amenhotep IV] This first volume is subdivided into four parts. Includes an extensive bibliography (pp. 265-293). (AEB)

Journal Articles

- A4. Fairman, H. W. "Tutankhamun and the End of the 18th Dynasty," Antiquity 46 (1972):15-18.

Using the evidence from the anatomical studies of the remains of Smenkhkare and Tutankhamen, the author presents a chronology for the kings of the Amarna Period and supports the theory of a long coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. It is also concluded that both Smenkhkare and Tutankhamen were the sons of Amenhotep III and his daughter Sitamen.

- A5. Harris, J. R. "Kiya," CdE 49 (1974):25-30.

The author presents the available evidence from inscriptions concerning the importance of the "other" wife of Akhenaten, Kiya, in analyzing the later developments of the heretic pharaoh's reign. Harris bases his article on the work of Perepelkin (A3, D1).

- A6. Ray, John. "The Parentage of Tutankhamun," Antiquity 49 (1975):45-47.

Presents the view that Tutankhamen may have been the son of Akhenaten by a wife other than Nefertiti, possibly Kiya. The basis for the theory is the Hermopolis block which contains the inscription: "the king's son of his body, his beloved, Tutankhamen."

Magazine Articles

- A7. Gilbert, Pierre. "Akhnaton et nous," Clés, January 1975, pp. 26-28.

An illustrated presentation of major elements of Akhenaten's reign including the coregencies.

- A8. Vandersleyen, Claude. "Akhnaton dans l'histoire," Clés, January 1975, pp. 19-21.

A general history of the Amarna Period with two black and white illustrations.

B. Religion

Books

- B1. Assmann, Jan. Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete. Zürich und München: Artemis Verlag, 1975.

Part I-B includes "Hymnen der Amarnazeit" (pp. 209-225). Amarna Period hymns and prayers are also mentioned in the "Einführung."

- B2. The Cambridge Ancient History. 3d ed. Edited by I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond and E. Sollberger. Vol. II, pt. 2. History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380-1000 B.C. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Chapter XIX, "Egypt: The Amarna Period and the End of the Eighteenth Dynasty" by Cyril Aldred, was originally published as fascicle 71 in 1971. The present version includes revisions made in 1973 with addenda to the bibliography. Part II and VIII deal with the Amarna religious heresy and its implications and aftermath.

Journal Articles

- B3. Löhr, Beatrix. "Aḥanjāti in Heliopolis," GM 11 (1974): 33-38.

Discusses the relationship during Akhenaten's reign of the Amarna cult to the traditional solar cult centered at Heliopolis as evidenced in various reliefs and inscriptions found at that site.

- B4. Prinsloo, W. S. "Was die Aton religie 'n monoteïsme?" Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif (1974): 32-35.

Magazine Articles

- B5. Gilbert, Pierre. "Akhnaton et nous," Clés, January 1975, pp. 26-28.

The Amarna religious heresy and its effects are briefly discussed. Illustrated.

- B6. Walle, Baudouin van de. "La doctrine atonienne," Clés, January 1975, pp. 31-34.

A brief, illustrated presentation of the Amarna religious heresy including an excerpt from the Hymn to the Aten.

C. The Role of Nefertiti

Books

- C1. Martin, G. T. The Rock Tombs of El-'Amarna, Part VII--The Royal Tomb of El-'Amarna, Vol. 1: The Objects. [Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 35th Memoir]. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1974.

The author indicates that Nefertiti is shown at each corner of the royal sarcophagus in a protecting embrace, assuming the role of the customary four tutelary goddesses.

Journal Articles

- C2. Harris, J. R. "Kiya," CdE 49 (1974):25-30.

The author suggests that inscriptions of Kiya, Akhenaten's "other" wife, were those deleted in favor of Meritaten, not Nefertiti's. This would leave little to substantiate the "falling from grace" of Nefertiti during her lifetime.

- C3. Redford, Donald B. "Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes, II; A Report on the Work of the Akhenaten Temple Project of the University Museum, The University of Pennsylvania, for the Year 1973-4," JARCE 12 (1975):9-14.

Includes plates I-VIII. The author indicates that Nefertiti was depicted in a greater number of reliefs than Akhenaten which may reflect political power. Due to the inclusion of the queen's name in the identifying formula for a granddaughter of Akhenaten, it is suggested that Nefertiti may have outlived her husband and that a more likely date for her death is Year 3 of Tutankhamen.

- D. Pathological Studies and the Occupant of Valley Tomb No. 55

Books

- D1. Perepelkin, Iurii Iakovlevich. Perevorot Amen-Khotpa IV. Chastv I. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 1967.

[The revolution of Amenhotep IV] This first volume is subdivided into four parts. In the third section, the author presents evidence of inscriptions of Kiya, Akhenaten's "other" wife, and suggests that the usurped coffin found in Tomb 55 was originally prepared for her. See also "Kiya" by J. R. Harris (A5, C2).

E. Art

Books

- E1. Brussels. Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire. Le règne du soleil: Akhnaton et Néfertiti. Exposition organisée par les Ministères de la Culture aux Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Bruxelles, 17 janvier - 16 mars 1975. [exhibition catalog]
- Exhibition of antiquities on loan from several Egyptian museums. Antiquities from the host museum on pp. 145-155.
- E2. Martin, G. T. The Rock Tombs of El-'Amarna, Part VII--The Royal Tomb of El-'Amarna, Vol. 1: The Objects. [Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 35th Memoir]. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1974.
- The bulk of this first volume consists of the catalogue of objects from the Royal Tomb. The objects are classified into 22 categories and many are illustrated in 63 plates. Three concordances are included.
- E3. Oslo. Nasjonalgalleriet. Solens rike: Akhnaton, Nefertiti, Tut-ank-Amon; 16. juli - 16. september 1975. [exhibition catalog]
- Exhibition of antiquities on loan from several Egyptian museums.
- E4. Stockholm. Medelhavsmuseet. Echnaton och Nefertiti. 1975. [exhibition catalog]
- Exhibition of antiquities on loan from several Egyptian museums held 16 October - 7 December 1975. Illustrated, some color.
- E5. Vienna. Kunsthistorisches Museum. Echnaton, Nofretete, Tutanchamun. 1975. [exhibition catalog]
- Exhibition of antiquities on loan from several Egyptian museums held 23 April - 29 June 1975. Antiquities from the host museum on pp. 135-157.
- E6. Wenig, Steffen. Meisterwerke der Amarnakunst. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1974.
- Contains 40 plates, some in color.

Journal Articles

- E7. Hanke, Rainer. "Änderungen von Bildern und Inschriften während der Amarnazeit," SAK 2 (1975):75-93.
- Includes illustrations.
- E8. Pavlov, V. V. "Golova muzhchiny pozdneamarnskovo perioda iz sobraniia Gosudarstvennovo Muzeia Izobrazitel'nikh

Iskusstv im. A. S. Pushkina," VDI 122 (1972):90-94.

Illustrated with an abstract in English bearing the translated title: "A Male Head of the Late Amarna Period from the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts."

- E9. Peterson, B. J. "Some Objects from the Time of Akhenaten," JEOL 20 (1967-68):21-26.
- An illustrated report of some small objects of the Amarna Period in the Egyptian collections in Copenhagen, in the National Museum, and in Upsala, in the Victoria Museum.

Magazine Articles

- E10. Bille-De Mot, Eléonore. "Les masques," Clés, January 1975, pp. 29-30.
- An illustrated description of the finding and importance of the masks discovered in the studio of the sculptor Thutmosis in the excavations of Akhetaten. The author suggests that the masks were in fact modeled from life.
- E11. Faton, Andrée. "Le règne du soleil: Akhenaton et Néfertiti. Exposition aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Parc du Cinquantenaire - Bruxelles, du 17 janvier au 16 mars 1975," Archéologia, March 1975, pp. 61-65.
- Illustrated description of the Brussels exhibition of Amarna art.

F. Excavations and the Akhenaten Temple Project

Books

- F1. Martin, G. T. The Rock Tombs of El-'Amarna, Part VII--The Royal Tomb of El-'Amarna, Vol. 1: The Objects. [Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 35th Memoir]. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1974.
- Includes a section outlining previous work in the Royal Tomb and Royal Wâdi (pp. 3-10); also a brief description of the Royal Tomb of whose interior a full description will be provided in the second volume.
- F2. Sée, Geneviève. Grandes villes de l'Egypte antique. Ivry: Editions Serg, 1974.
- The chapter entitled "La création d'une capitale" (pp. 141-238) describes the excavated remains of Akhetaten using plans from EES publications and

illustrative photographs. The author indicates that architectural planning in the heretical capital reflected both practical needs as well as the germ of urban planning in the modern sense.

Journal Articles

- F3. Habachi, Labib. "Akhenaten in Heliopolis," Beiträge Bf 12 (1971):35-45.

Remains of the Aten temple in Heliopolis are discussed with illustrations.

- F4. Redford, Donald B. "Reconstructing the Temples of a Heretical Pharaoh," Archaeology 28 (1975):16-22.

Description of the computerized re-creation of the Temple of the Aten at Karnak. Includes color illustrations.

- F5. _____. "Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes, II; A Report on the Work of the Akhenaten Temple Project of the University Museum, The University of Pennsylvania, for the Year 1973-4," JARCE 12 (1975):9-14.

Includes plates I-VIII. Presents the theory that the excavations reveal building activity undertaken by Akhenaten at Thebes to be confined to the first five years of the reign and to have ceased with his move to Amarna.

Magazine Articles

- F6. Mekhitarian, Arpag. "L'horizon du disque," Clés, January 1975, pp. 22-25.

An illustrated basic presentation of the excavated city of Akhetaten.

G. Language and Writing (Including the Amarna Letters)

Journal Articles

- G1. Badawy, A. M. "The Names Per-Ha^cy/Gem-Aten of the Great Temple at 'Amarna," ZAS 102 (1975):10-13.

- G2. Holmes, Y. Lynn. "The Messengers of the Amarna Letters," JAOS 95 (1975):376-381.

The author indicates that the messengers served not only as bearers, readers, interpreters and defenders of their masters' messages, but also as diplomats, and more importantly, as merchants.

- G3. Rainey, A. F. "El-'Amarna Notes," Ugarit-Forschungen 6 (1974):295-312.

- G4. Westendorf, Wolfhart. "Das angebliche Doppeldeterminativ (Gott und König) beim Wort 'Vater' in den Texten der Amarnazeit," MDAIK 25 (1969):202-211.

Special Articles

- G5. Vergote, Jozef. "La chancellerie royale d'Akhetaton et la tablette Ashm. Mus., Tell el Amarna 1921, 1154." In Zetesis; Bijdragen Prof. Dr Emile de Strijcken, pp. 580-584. Antwerpen-Utrecht, 1973.

Presents the theory that the cuneiform vocabulary of Egyptian words inscribed on the tablet indicates that Asiatic scribes served in the royal chancellery at Akhetaten.

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Égyptologie



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Received of the Treasurer of the University of California, the sum of \$100.00, for the year 1911-12.

Witness my hand and the seal of the University of California, this 1st day of January, 1912.

President of the University of California

Respectfully